

PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

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£750 This is what a family of five will have paid for arms in five years BUT STILL NO DEFENCE

By Emrys Hughes, MP

THIS year, once again, the British taxpayer is being asked to provide approximately £1,500,000,000 for the Army, Navy and Air Force.

The real expenditure is £1,548,700,000, but American aid brings the sum we have to find to £1,498,700,000. It means 12s. 9d. per person per week, or £3 3s. 9d. per week of taxation on a family of five.

It is one-third of our national budget expenditure. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has issued an SOS to spend less, but the expenditure on the Forces is up although we are in the middle of a financial crisis which can only be solved, so we are told, by transferring men and material and labour power into the export industries, upon which the economic future of Britain depends.

It seems to be taken for granted that £1,500,000,000 a year is now the figure for defence which we must spend.

But what relevance is this huge sum to the realities? It gives us no real defence.

"Frightening" says the Economist

On Dec. 10 the Economist told us:

"During the year, as the military plans drawn up by General Gruenther and his SHAPE staff have been costed, the size of the gap between what the NATO countries are spending on defence and what they would have to spend if the new strategy were to be fully adopted has assumed frightening dimensions. It is probably no exaggeration to say that if the Generals could have all the tactical atomic weapons, they would have to spend more."

ON BACK PAGE

Peace Pledge Union to Home Secretary:

DISARMAMENT IS ONLY EFFECTIVE C.D.

As Peace News went to Press no reply had been received by the Peace Pledge Union to the following letter sent to the Home Secretary on February 8.

Dear Mr. Home Secretary,

My committee asks me to forward to you their comments on the Home Office Manual of Civil Defence, Volume 1 "Nuclear Weapons."

We note that in the introduction it is admitted that "widespread casualties and damage to buildings and houses by blast on a scale never before experienced could not be prevented should such an attack succeed..." Subsequent information contained in the book makes clear the actual extent and range of damage which cannot be prevented. The most that could be done would be "to minimise fire damage and to lessen the hazard from all forms of radio-activity."

In regard to fire risks, we note (Section 26) the suggestion that although it may itself catch fire, the clothing of exposed people affords some degree of protection... particularly if the clothing is not in close contact with the body and provided that the burning clothing can quickly be removed or the flames extinguished. We take it, therefore, that the Home Office has no more adequate suggestion to offer.

In regard to nuclear radiation, we have noted the harmful effects of gamma rays on living organisms and the fact that "no practical form of clothing can in any way protect the wearer against gamma rays" (Section 110). The suggestions for personal cleansing involving vacuum cleaning and thorough personal washing (Section 114-6), seem to be counsels of perfection in view of the information given as to the area of damage in which neither electricity nor water supplies will be available.

In regard to the refuge room (Section 90), we would point out that in a very large number of cases there would be no room available in which the suggested plans could be effectively carried out, and that even if a room was so conditioned it could not be regarded as available for normal peace-time uses. We would ask the Home Office when it would regard it as opportune to reconstruct a room as suggested, and would it be prepared, if necessary arose, to inform the public that the need for such precautions had arrived? In view of the need for staying under the best cover for at least two days after an attack because of the harmful effects of all radiation, we would ask what provision should be made for the supply of necessary food, or even for the discharge of the normal functions of nature.

As we understand it, the information and suggestions made are based upon the effects of the dropping of one ten-megaton bomb (intro-



"I've composed some thermo-nuclear war music that will make humanity cry out for peace."

ON BACK PAGE

"DON'T LET ANYONE PULL YOU SO LOW AS TO HATE THEM"

—Alabama bus boycott leader

THE Negro boycott of segregated buses in Montgomery, Alabama, begun on December 5, continues with increased support. At least 115 Negro leaders, including 26 clergymen, have been arrested and released on bail as the jail was too small to hold them.

All have pleaded "not guilty" to charges of violating a 1921 Alabama law enacted to counter economic boycotts by labour unions. More than 2,000 persons packed a Negro Baptist church on February 23 to hear the boycott leaders.

They sang old gospel hymns and heard a young pastor urge all Negroes to walk to work, thus renouncing even the use of taxis and cars.

The weapon of love

The Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., one of the arrested leaders emphasised the pacifist nature of the struggle when he declared:

"This is not a war between the white and the Negro but a conflict between justice and injustice. . . . We are seeking to improve not the Negro of Montgomery but the whole of Montgomery. . . ."

"If we are arrested every day, if we are exploited every day, if we are trampled over every day, don't let anyone pull you so low as to hate them. We must use the weapon of love."

The National Council of Churches and

Why 62,000 did not vote

MALTA: THE INSIDE STORY

Peace News Reporters

THE people of Britain have not been given all the facts about last month's referendum in Malta. They have not been given all the reasons why 62,400 out of a total electorate of 152,833 abstained from voting on Labour Premier Dom Mintoff's plan for integrating Malta with the United Kingdom.

It has generally been taken for granted by the British Press that the influence of the Roman Catholic Church was the factor that deprived Mintoff of the majority he had hoped for, plus the Nationalist Party's call for a boycott.

This, however, accounted only partly for Dom Mintoff's failure to get a majority for his plan.

From authoritative sources Peace News learns that there was another body which was against integration, and against it for quite different reasons.

This body was never mentioned in the British Press and it could never speak publicly in the election campaign. But it had an influence on the result and made many Maltese boycott the election. This was the pacifist element which exists among many of the old Maltese families.

MILITARY DOMINATION

The view of these people, according to a reliable report received in London this week is that Mintoff's plan of integration would strengthen the military importance of Malta and hamper the island's trade still more.

Malta as a part of Britain would increase in importance as a military target. The island would receive one of the first atom bombs in any war and disappear completely. Many of these old Maltese families are merchants. They want Malta to be demilitarised like the international city of Tangier or the Aaland Islands in the Baltic.

They maintain that Malta as an independent territory (in or out of the British Commonwealth) can become a trading centre for the Mediterranean like Beirut.

They were therefore against integration, which would have delayed the development towards complete self-government. They supported Dr. Borg Olivier and his Nationalist Party in the boycott.

Because any public declaration against British military interests in Malta is regarded as high treason these pacifist elements could not take part in the election campaign. A few letters were written to the Maltese press pointing out that integration would mean the introduction of conscription, but for the rest a "whispering campaign" was carried on in the business centre of Valetta.

UNDEVELOPED AREA

These are the arguments put forward by those who supported the boycott:

Military installations hamper economic development;

Rural areas are purposely left undeveloped because they are needed for training British and NATO forces;

Industrial development is retarded because of the naval base: the military authorities don't want any merchant shipping near their naval port;

The tourist trade cannot be developed as

Kenya arrests confirmed

THE British Government has confirmed the Peace News report of February 3 that a thousand Kenya Africans were arrested during the week ending January 28.

The confirmation came in an answer in the Commons to a question put down by Fenner Brockway, MP.

A full report will appear in Peace News next week.

Fenner Brockway on Kenya non-violence—p.3.

FACTS AND FIGURES

Malta (pop. 316,000) is about the size of the county of London.

One in four of the working people are employed by the military.

The vote secured by Dom Mintoff for his plan of integration with the United Kingdom was almost the same as his poll in last year's parliamentary election. His supporters are mainly workers in the naval dockyards.

the military don't want any strangers near their installations (Air services and steamer services from Malta to other Mediterranean countries are, according to shipping agents on the island, deliberately NOT synchronised in order to make it difficult to come to the island);

The demilitarisation of Malta would make possible economic developments which would go a long way to offset the present necessity for emigration.

The whole British Press has commented on the "guarantees" demanded by Archbishop Gonzi to ensure the "liberty" of the Roman Catholic Church.

But it is not liberty that the Catholic Church wants to preserve. It is the privileged position it has obtained in its bargaining with military authorities anxious to see the people of the island kept in subjection, or as they would put it, "at peace."

MALTESE BIBLES BANNED

This military expediency has brought Franco Spain and MacCarthyism to the Island.

It is an offence to distribute Bibles in the Maltese language in the island.

Malta is the only part of the British Commonwealth where the British and Foreign Bible Society cannot operate.

Maltese is the only European language into which the Bible has not been translated (Three of the Gospels have been printed in a rather poor edition for circulation only among Maltese overseas. They cannot be distributed in Malta).

When an attempt was made to distribute Bibles those doing so were threatened with imprisonment.

The extent to which the Church-War Office suppression operates was shown when recently a vessel carrying some Finnish Pentecostal missionaries was delayed at Malta through engine trouble.

The missionaries went ashore and delivered some tracts in English. Immediately police came on board and warned that the spreading of Protestant tracts was forbidden and later a Roman Catholic priest stood guard at the gangway to prevent any Maltese from coming on board.

PROTESTANTS SUPPRESSED

A small group of Plymouth Brethren (many of whose members refuse military service) do distribute tracts on Sunday afternoons in Valetta but they are carefully watched by police and priests to see that they approach only British servicemen and do not contact any Maltese. The Brethren are on the staff of the British civilian hospital.

The island has been described as the only place in Europe, beside Spain and some East European countries, where Billy Graham would not be allowed to hold a meeting!

No Protestant clergyman is allowed to appear in the streets wearing his cassock, and a similar ban applies to Orthodox priests.

The import of Communist literature is forbidden in law. No Protestant or other "heretical" open-air meetings are allowed.

How long suppression can continue on this scale remains to be seen.

British pacifists step up campaign activities

IN THE SOUTH pacifists will lead a march to Wormwood Scrubs Prison tomorrow, Saturday. Starting from Weigh House Church, Binney St., Oxford St., W.1., at 3 p.m.

Many former prisoners will join the procession and give away leaflets explaining the stand being taken by conscientious objectors now in prison. Extra helpers will be welcomed.

A full rota of pickets for Wormwood Scrubs prison—day and night for a week—has been completed, the Pacifist Youth Action Group reports.

IN THE NORTH thousands of leaflets are being distributed urging the public to listen in to the BBC debate on pacifism to be opened by Stuart Morris in a broadcast on March 8 at 8.30 p.m. (not 9.15 p.m. as is usual for this feature programme, nor 8 p.m. as incorrectly reported in Peace News last week as the result of a printing error).

Further supplies of leaflets may be had by return from Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4., price 2s. 6d., 100; £1, 1,000.

Many other pacifist activities for the month of March are in the Diary on page 5.

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"... the punishment fit the crime"

EACH year when the "Defence" Estimates appear there is much theorising by military strategists and professorial pundits on how to retain war as a means of settling international disputes without thereby destroying the world.

The mastery by these people of a mass of involved technical calculations not understood by the average man gives their pronouncements a spurious impressiveness unless it is realised that their detailed knowledge covers up their side-stepping of simple and basic considerations.

Thus, Professor P. M. S. Blackett, lecturing at Trinity College, Cambridge, has asked—as has also Rear-Admiral Sir Anthony Buzzard—for the formulation of military plans based on a clear distinction between tactical and strategic uses of nuclear weapons, and a clear policy declaration that future aggression would be met only by as much force as needed to defeat it.

This policy, he held, would "make the punishment fit the crime."

That Gilbertian phrase has already been used in advocacy of a similar policy by a Pentagon spokesman, Colonel R. S. Leghorn. In an article in US News and World Report he has proposed a scale of "graduation," which involved the use of a graduated power of retaliation with various nuclear weapons, always somewhat more destructive than the original attack.

Rear-Admiral Buzzard thinks that atomic weapons should be classified as tactical, while hydrogen weapons should be regarded as strategic.

STRATEGIC methods—i.e., bombing great population centres—should be kept, the reasoning goes, for the last resort. He thinks, however, that we should not be "too specific" about this.

"It seems best," he remarks, "to exclude from mass destruction all towns and cities over a certain size, except those actually in the front line of the land fighting which have not been declared and proved 'open.'"

Admiral Buzzard sees in the policy he advocates not only a moral lead which may minimise the chances of Britain being destroyed, but also decided military advantages. These will, of course, obviously commend it to the "aggressor!"

Professor Blackett remarks that "without some distinction between tactical and strategic bombing we should be inhibited from using strategic bombs for fear of the consequences, and would have to fight even limited wars without the aid of tactical atomic support."

One of the things that these gentlemen ignore is the great ring of American bases all round the world which would provide Russia with a wide field of accepted military targets in any such possible future war. No distinctions between tactical and strategic proposed from the West could persuade her military command to leave those bases alone.

THE master assumption of the pronouncements by these strategists and pundits, however, is: that the other side will be the aggressor, responsible for the crime; that the West will be inflicting the punishment; and that all—even the "aggressor"—will see that this is so.

This master assumption is a complete fallacy. The new strategists hide their error amidst push-button operations and new technical problems so well that even they may not see it.

Indo-China is an example of the complete fallacy in the master assumption of the new strategists. Since the Japanese were driven from the area, the United States has been at least as much of an aggressor there as has China.

Mr. Dulles' view is that if all the Indo-Chinese people were to declare for the Government of Ho Chi-minh, that act itself would be evidence of aggression by subversion.

BOTH sides have been driven by a righteous indignation which convinces them that, by some means, right must be made to prevail. A war in this situation might again develop.

In such a case it is futile to expect either side to have the outlook Captain Liddell Hart advocates in using limited wars and graduated deterrents:

"Keep cool. Have unlimited patience. Never corner an opponent and always assist him to save his face. Put yourself in his shoes—so as to see things through his eyes. Avoid self-righteousness like the devil—nothing is so self-blinding."

The foreign policies and declarations of both giants in the power struggle are dominated by self-blinding self-righteousness. It is shutting one's eyes to psychology and the lessons of history to assume that it can be reduced and modified when war breaks out.

THE POWER OF THE PEOPLE

By Gene Sharp

MONTGOMERY, Alabama, may go down in history as the scene of one of the most significant and hopeful events of the mid-twentieth century.

It is another case of mass disciplined non-violent action and civil disobedience being used by an oppressed people in their struggle for freedom. That such non-violent action has now come to the American scene has profound implications.

The bus boycott in Montgomery, marks a new phase in the struggle for equal rights for U.S. Negroes.

In this struggle the Negroes are no longer asking for laws to be passed to remedy their condition. They are no longer seeking to improve their status by asking the courts to order segregation ended.

They are no longer content with either passive acceptance of injustice or quiet appeals to individuals and the long process of "education."

Self-reliance

In this struggle the Negroes of the Deep South have acted on their own, relying on themselves, the justice of their cause, and the power of truthful, non-violent action to attack the continued domination of their lives by the forces of reaction and white supremacy.

Never in American history has there been such mass sustained, non-violent action as there has been in Montgomery.

That this mass non-violent defiance should take place in the heart of the Deep South is profoundly significant.

There is little doubt that they will succeed if they continue the struggle on the basis of clear issues, no com-

promise on basic questions, non-violence in the face of possible more severe repression, and refusal to be sidetracked by time-consuming court cases.

If they do succeed, the initial phase of a revolutionary period in American history will have begun.

Once it is proved to the Southern Negroes that they, by their own efforts, relying on the weapons of love, determination and courage (which no one can take from them) can defeat the forces of white supremacy, the new spirit which has already been expressed in Montgomery will come to maturity.

This is not to say that there will not be strong opposition.

The forces of entrenched reaction and white supremacy will be smart enough to see the writing on the wall: that if the Negroes win in Montgomery, and then again and again, the old order of Jim Crow will be on its way out—and quickly. There may even be violence against them.

But if the action by the Negroes continues uncompromisingly and non-violent, success is certain.

If the Negroes win in Montgomery, a death blow will have been struck at segregation in the United States.

The example will be repeated throughout the South and in those parts of the North where discrimination exists.

One of the qualities of non-violent resistance is that, once it is used, its example is a challenge to oppressed people everywhere.

White supremacists in South Africa are probably shuddering at the news

from Montgomery, if the newspapers have dared to print it. It can bring hope to the people of Cyprus, Kenya, and Malta.

The amount of support for such a movement is unparalleled in American history. Again it proves that sustained non-violent action evokes a response in people that no other type of social struggle can do.

The support by religious bodies and leaders in the United States of the Montgomery action might reinforce the American churches with an insight and methodology which could bring a more profound social relevance to religious concepts than has to this point been the case.

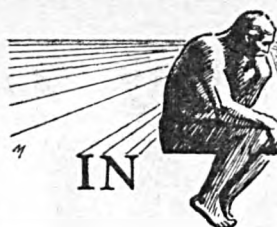
Even if for some reason there should be a temporary defeat in Montgomery, the precedent already set will stimulate much thought and action on the removal of racial segregation in the United States and how to combat injustice elsewhere by means of non-violence.

Source of power

Montgomery has felt the power of the people. This power comes through non-violence, courage, action, through determination and willingness to suffer for the justice of the cause.

It relies on truth and love to begin the creative ferment in the hearts of men. And thus the mountains of tyranny and injustice are moved.

The example of Montgomery will reverberate into the home of every Negro in the United States, into every claspboard shack of every Negro tenant farmer, into the city slums, the doctor's office, the professor's study. They will know their own power. They will know how to win their freedom.



IN PERSPECTIVE

THE death penalty is not yet abolished.

The House of Commons vote on February 16 no doubt makes its ultimate abolition certain, but abolitionists know there may still be a long fight.

The opposition to abolition is difficult to understand—it is rarely an outright defence of capital punishment but is largely a matter of fear and doubt—"difficult consequences might follow" or "this is not yet the time," they argue.

So the defenders of the death penalty can hardly be expected to be unduly helpful about its abolition, though one could have hoped that the British tradition would have enabled them to face Parliamentary defeat with grace and join thereafter in providing for the country what Parliament has shown it clearly wanted.

Rearguard fight ahead

THE Government has, frankly, got itself into a mess.

It refused a year ago to accept any of the Royal Commission's main recommendations for reducing the use of the death penalty—now it has made a belated effort to introduce very half-hearted modifications, and has been defeated.

Parliament, on a free vote after a debate with the House "at its best," as many commentators stated, has chosen abolition on a motion calling on the Government to introduce appropriate legislation.

The Government does not believe in abolition and will now offer only to give time, and allow free votes at each stage, for consideration of a private member's Bill.

So far so good.

But a series of votes on a private member's Bill, and another series on the House of Lords where the Bill will not appear as a Government measure, may delay progress considerably.

What is more, these delays will give time and opportunity for the Press to work up an apparent public opinion which the Lords could well use as their justification for refusing to approve legislation which would remove the death penalty.

The campaign for abolition cannot be allowed to relax for a moment. The rearguard action now called for may be more important than the whole of the previous campaign.

Aerobol Mollet

PRECARIOUSLY pursuing a tight-rope-walking policy the French Government of M. Guy Mollet has announced its Algerian policy. It may carry the doubtful support of the MRP and the Communists. The Government also is temporarily supported by the Social Republicans, a small rightist group noted for stepping in and out of Governments.

The policy follows the usual line of challenged imperialisms. It offers

economic advantages, but asserts that there cannot be independence.

Algeria is, and will remain, a part of Metropolitan France, says M. Mollet. "What would France be without Algeria? What would Algeria become without France?"

Something of what Algeria has already become with all the advantages of the "French Presence" is indicated by the magnitude of the problems with which it is now proposed to deal.

Of 2,000,000 children of school age in Algeria, only 300,000 are receiving any schooling. "There are 6,000,000 Moslems in Algeria," said M. Mollet, "without resources and without a future, a mass available for who knows what adventure."

M. Mollet is looking to American aid to help him to deal with Algeria's economic problems and an immediate object is to create a million new jobs for the million Algerians who are without work. M. Mollet also proposes to take action to raise the farm

Hanging Algeria H-tests Sudan

pay of Algerian labour from about 6s. 10d. a day to 8s. 6d.—an announcement that was received in the Assembly with a silence that may be ominous.

In the meantime the filling of the 30 Algerian seats in the Assembly is to be proceeded with. The carrying out of these elections is likely to prove a crucial step which will decide the future, if any, of the Mollet Government.

A crime

IN his speech to the Congress of the Russian Communist Party, Mr. Khrushchov indicated once more Russia's willingness to agree to a cessation of the Hydrogen bomb tests.

The competition in these tests is different in character from competition in armaments, or even in the accumulation of present types of nuclear weapons.

The competition in armaments wastes human resources and aggravates the spirit of fear, thus increasing the danger of war.

The race in the making and stockpiling of more nuclear weapons is, at best, superfluous. There are probably already enough such weapons to annihilate the peoples of the two contending blocs.

The evil of the competition in H-bomb tests, however, does not depend on the power struggle actually breaking out in war. The competition itself threatens all the peoples of the world and their posterity.

It is true that there is some disagreement among scientists on this last point, but the warning is as

authoritative as is the evidence that those who would set it aside. What is right can only be proved once damage—if there is damage—is done.

It is a crime against the human race to risk future generations with misshapen bodies and damaged minds.

Great moral effect

WE wish the Russian Government would advance beyond its proposal for an agreement to cease tests and would declare that it conducts no more, whether or others agree to stop their tests.

We have already urged that kind of declaration could have great moral effect. If it were made by Russia, however, we believe effect would be much greater.

Indeed, the acclamation with which such an announcement would be received by the peoples of the committed nations—and not those—might very well make the Government realise that it would be highly impolitic for it to go on with its tests.

In that event, the Russian Government would have achieved the result as it would have with an agreement. But, more, it would have greatly improved its moral standing in the eyes of the peoples of the world.

189 dead

ALL liberal-minded people welcomed the birth of the independent, democratic republic of Sudan on January 1 as they have announced its admittance shortly to membership of the United Nations.

Unfortunately, independence was preceded by bloodshed in the Sudan and now another terrible tragedy shocked friends of the Sudanese people.

Reports indicate that 189 Sudanese cotton cultivators perished in a scale of improvised prison, where it is alleged all windows were shut and cries of air disregarded, so that those who died, piled on one another.

It may be that the prisoners, had not yet been tried, had been guilty of rioting as a result of dissatisfaction with cotton prices. It may be that local officials were grossly inefficient or negligent (number of police officers have been arrested).

Nevertheless, the Sudanese Government must shoulder the ultimate responsibility for this modern "Hole of Calcutta."

One can imagine the outcry if it had occurred under a British Administration—and quite rightly too.

This case of Sudanese inhumanity to Sudanese is not only deplorable by civilised standards, but provides free ammunition to those who wish to retard the transfer of government to dependent peoples seeking independence, and to snipe at those people's friends.

From the Editor's Notebook

STUTTGART RADIO ran into trouble recently when someone had the bright idea of broadcasting a series under the title "How to educate my son to be a soldier."

No one could be found to speak on this subject so the head of the women's programme section was told to do so.

The series continues with "How to educate my son to be a soldier—in Switzerland," and so on to other countries.

I don't know whether a fatuous contribution has yet come from Britain, but it would be a good idea for readers everywhere to write to Dr. Fritz Eberhard, the Superintendent of the Sueddeutsche Rundfunk, Stuttgart, Germany, protesting against such messages.

Dr. Eberhard was in London as a member of the European Service of the BBC during World War II.

She fights on

THE War Resisters' International Group in Stuttgart report "Officially we are in the midst of preparing the militaristic State again."

The Nazis are coming back into power again over Western Germany. Rosel Lohse-Linke, who leads the Stuttgart WRI Group, must have a heavy heart as she carries on the struggle against the militarists who killed her husband.

Britain lent a hand in secretly re-arming Germany and building up the Nazi Party between World Wars I and II. Today it is being done openly.

World citizens

THIS year will see a new development in the building up of the Commonwealth of World Citizens. From August 27-30 at the Temple of Peace, Cardiff, the Commonwealth of World Citizens will be claimed in being "as an independent and impartial world people,"

Hugh Schonfield tells me. Citizens will gather from all countries—there are 250 in Britain—and adopt their first constitution and elect their first administration.

The full text of the Provisional Constitution is to be published by Denis Dobson Ltd. (price 3s. 6d.) under the title "Birth of World People."

August Assembly

ALL applicants for citizenship (who are pledged not to participate in war or preparation for war) will be entitled to take part in the Constituent Assembly. An informative booklet "A New People for the New World" is now available from the Commonwealth of World Citizens, 13 Prince of Wales Terrace, London, W.8.

A number of seats are reserved at the Temple of Peace gathering in August. These are for private spectators and representatives of organisations and will cost £2.

Leaves CO work

LYLE TATUM, Executive Secretary of the American Citizens Committee for the Scientific Objectors, has resigned in order to become Superintendent of the Protestant Home for Children in Buffalo, N.Y.

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By RICHARD

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RELIGIOUS NEWS AND VIEWS

a monthly column by

STUART MORRIS

The Church's dilemma and Christ's answer

PROFESSOR JOHN MCKENZIE edits a personal questions column in the British Weekly, and he was recently asked the following: "I can find in the New Testament that Jesus says 'go and preach the Gospel,' but I cannot find that Jesus says 'but when a youth reaches the age of 18 he is to be trained to use a bayonet, shoot or bomb his fellowmen?'"

Should not our Churches make a protest?"

The questioner, as a result of conversations with national servicemen has been drawn to the conclusion that many of them find a startling inconsistency "in being taught to follow the Prince of Peace and then, without protest from the Church, being taught to bayonet and kill. It is all very well to believe in Christ and be saved, but where do we go from there?"

Professor McKenzie recognises the contradiction. Although he does not think it should turn young people from the Church, he has nothing better to offer than the suggestion that the choice is between going to war or tolerating wrong, claiming that war may be a necessity, although it can never be justified.

He puts the dilemma in a particularly curious form: "Either we consent to defend all that the Cross has brought to us, or we acquiesce in a return to the Roman soldiers who could nail Christ upon a cross."

No mention of Christ Himself, or of whether He would wish us to defend "all the Cross has brought" by methods which He Himself refused.

It is time that the Christian Church ceased to try and impale its young members upon the horns of a dilemma and showed them clearly the answer which Christ Himself gave.

Christianity and the West

The Catholic Herald has issued a serious challenge in an editorial. After suggesting that we tend to think of Communism as exclusively an anti-Christian challenge and that we also think of ourselves as the champions of Christianity, it asks the question "But, in fact, are we?"

The editorial suggests that we may reasonably claim to be the champions of the democratic way of life, but asks "Can we claim that in history the West has practised its own religious ideals in that imperialism and colonisation against which in so large a part of the world people are revolting?"

In the Editor's judgment "It is high time to stop thinking primarily in terms of Communism and anti-Communism and to think instead of something more like a new war; the war against Western capitalist culture."

I wonder what the Editor really means; but certainly no better start could be made than by the renunciation of the method of war and violence which is so closely integrated into the Western way of life.

Canon Collins had a similar point to make when in a sermon in St. Paul's Cathedral he claimed that the Church of England, as part of the established set-up, was concerned too much to uphold the privileged position of the "respectability" of the State.

The British way of life, respectability and Christianity were too often thought of as one and the same thing.

So long as the Church persisted in those dangerous identifications they would have to face the charge of hypocrisy.

It was the task of the Church at all times to confront the State with the uncompromising claim that love is stronger than force.

CLARA COLE

TRIBUTE to a staunch anti-militarist and anarchist, Clara Cole, is paid in the Feb. 11 issue of Freedom.

Clara Cole, who died at the age of 87 on Feb. 4 was imprisoned in World War I for her anti-war activity and was not deterred by her age from contributing many fine articles on the cruelty and hypocrisy of war to many journals during World War II.

PPU RELIGION COMMISSION

Pacifist Universalist Service

3.30 p.m. Sunday March 4

King's Weigh House Church, Binney St., W.1.

(Near Bond St. Tube)

Discourse by JOHN FERRABY

"Baha'is and the Most Great Peace"

THIRD WAY

BRITISH CONTACT COUNCIL

Public Meeting

Friday, March 16,

7.30 p.m. (doors open 7 p.m.,

Speakers:

A. FENNER BROCKWAY M.P.

TOM WARDLE

and other

Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road,

London, S.W.1

(near Victoria Station)

Dr. George MacLeod:

"Revitalised Christianity must reject power"

From DENNIS BARRITT

A REVITALISED Church with a Christianity which permeates the whole of life and rejects the present powers of the State, including the Hydrogen bomb was urged by Dr. George F. MacLeod, founder leader of the Iona Community, in the Fifth Alex. Wood Memorial Lecture in Belfast on February 15.*

"The State now distributes the bodily needs of men and engineers their massacre without so much as a sidelong glance at the Church, that agency that in its first organic day had its uniqueness in the claim that you cannot separate soul salvation from whole salvation."

This is the root of the problem today, claimed Dr. George MacLeod.

No persecution

Nobody wants to persecute the Church because there is nothing to persecute it about. Even the journal "Truth" proclaims "the Church should not countenance expediency."

Until the Fourth Century, when under the merger of State and Church, when man became a Christian almost by rote or tribal edict, the Church as a small persecuted minority had a quality of intensity with very high standards.

There was a total approach to life; man's spirit and body were sacred. It was thus pacifist.

Later though the State sponsored Church widened its witness, this was much diluted and pacifism, once the norm, became the "eccentric" witness.

There was a justifiably ominous silence recently in a Scottish manse when the minister's five-year-old son was heard singing "Awkward Christian soldiers, leading us to war."

It is easy to be cynical about this age, but it must be remembered that it has allowed a wide spreading of the ideals of a Christian society and "the Son has been crowned in the consciousness of men in all lands."

It cannot last, however.

Pacifism in society

"The powers now at the disposal of the State, germ warfare and the Hydrogen bomb, are such that the Church can never hope to sanctify them."



Photo: OFS Chamber of Mines

African gold, African labour, European profits.

Brockway on Kenya non-violence

From a Correspondent

"THERE is a growing desire among Africans in Kenya today to use the Gandhian technique of non-violence," said Mr. Fenner Brockway, MP (Lab. Slough), speaking at a meeting for the Movement of Colonial Freedom at Guildford on Sunday afternoon.

"The terrorism of Mau Mau is gradually subsiding and the Africans are looking for more peaceful methods of securing their freedom," he continued. They are being largely influenced by the Indian community, who have identified themselves with their cause, and passive resistance is becoming widely practised."

Mr. Brockway, who has recently returned from a trip to Africa, told the meeting that he had met many Africans in Kenya who were shocked at the methods used by the Mau Mau, but would never be loyal to the present regime.

MCF Branch formed

"Our Government will be making a great mistake if it thinks that the mere physical suppression of Mau Mau is going to end the demand of the African people for human equality and liberty," he went on.

The situation in Kenya is very bad. The forced settlement in villages, the economic frustration and the new voting proposals are all meeting with dissatisfaction among the Africans.

"Not until we realise that these Africans are human beings and we treat them as such will real peace come to the troubled land."

As a result of the meeting, a branch of the Movement for Colonial Freedom was formed and supported by Labour members of the Guildford Town Council.

AMERICA'S MILITARY EMPIRE

Military personnel within the US (not including women in uniform, seriously hospitalised personnel, trainees with less than four month service, and conscientious objectors)	1,602,000
Military personnel assigned abroad (not including female personnel)	1,370,000
Military installations outside US continental limits (employing five or more persons)	950
Civilians on these installations	409,000
Annual cost of this civilian payroll	\$601,699,000
Army personnel on duty* in 73 foreign countries and eight other foreign areas.	

*From speech by Secretary of the Army Wilber M. Brucker, October 21, 1955, before the Assoc. of the US Army, at Ft. Benning, Ga. Other figures obtained by the Friends Committee on National Legislation (Quakers), Washington, D.C., from the Congressional Record, February 16, 1955, p. 1366.

"No collaboration with conscription"

By MAVIS JAMES

RICHARD T. DOWNHAM of Media, Pennsylvania, USA, is an absolutist. As a conscientious objector to war and to the keystone of war, conscription, he will not accept conditions; he will not take alternative employment as stipulated by the State.

He believes that COs should stand in complete resistance to conscription, not accept shelter under it. He believes that a pacifist should be as willing to stand by his principles as the man with a different philosophy, or none at all, stands by the way of violence.

To the Local Board of the Selective Service of Pennsylvania, Richard Downham wrote that regardless of the exact nature of any position or assignment under conscription he would not accept it.

"As Paul said, 'We should obey God rather than man.' When we are faced with an ungodly, unchristian law, it is our duty to openly refuse to collaborate with such a law," he wrote.

WHERE ALLEGIANCE LIES

"Gandhi practised non-co-operation with evil, and therefore civil-disobedience. Thoreau taught and put into practice his belief that man should follow the moral leadings of his conscience rather than the laws of the State. Tolstoy taught a way of life based on love of God and love of Man, as laid down in the Sermon on the Mount. He taught that Man's duty to God, his father, and Man, his brother, transcended and was in direct conflict with the laws of government, which require that Man do violence to his brother and place allegiance to the State before his allegiance to God."

To Richard, conscription is a denial of Christ and every decent human instinct. To render any "service" under such an institution, regardless of how innocent or even useful that "service" might appear, is, to him, collaborating with the evil purpose of that institution, and is certainly not a way of resisting it.

He writes from Pennsylvania: "I am about to be sentenced in a US federal court for my refusal to collaborate in any way with military conscription laws. It gives me a great sense of solidarity and support to read in Peace News about other COs throughout the world who are accepting imprisonment rather than add any support to militarism."

He writes from Pennsylvania: "I am about to be sentenced in a US federal court for my refusal to collaborate in any way with military conscription laws. It gives me a great sense of solidarity and support to read in Peace News about other COs throughout the world who are accepting imprisonment rather than add any support to militarism."

IF WINTER COMES...

AND it has come indeed, although perhaps it is some consolation to finish the quotation and remember that it will not last for ever.

A confident looking forward is a good attitude to take, and I am always looking forward to the result of the fortnightly appeals for the Peace Pledge Union funds and confident that we shall reach the extended aim for 1956.

But first a word of very real thanks to all who have sent stamps to the value of £3 2s. 2d. but have not had any individual acknowledgement. Some have suggested that the stamp idea is the best yet to encourage those who have little to spare to send what they can, and we hope that throughout the year those who cannot send more will continue to send stamps. Others have sent postal orders or notes instead of stamps, and we are grateful to you all.

Referring to spring, which has been called the only merry ring time, I have already received a box of coins of different countries from Canada.

We still have the lady's bicycle, in very good condition, complete with all accessories, to sell for the PPU Headquarters Fund.

Will someone make me an offer? And will you all look into your drawers and see if there is not something you can send for quarters fund? Another £100 would bring us up to the average for the first two months.

Please give what you can in cash or kind.

STUART MORRIS,

General Secretary.

Our aim for the year: £1,150
Amount received to date: £109
Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.



Say NO !

P. Bag, Phoenix, Natal, S. Africa

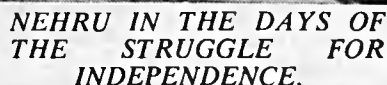
When Congress gave the seal of its approval to the general principle of

Not only is **Inside Africa** a masterly job of condensation, assimilation and regurgitation—frankly, it would not be so difficult to compile a book which contained as many facts, though it would be shockingly hard work—but, and this is where Gunther is supreme: whenever

token dissent ; the second half of the results as cheering to minorities as the first is depressing to reasonable men.

I can only repeat: if you want to get the feel of Africa, its tragedies and opportunities, start with **Inside Africa**. Formidable though it looks—900 plus pages with no pictures—it is as easy to read as a good thriller, and a lot more worthwhile.

judge from our African friend's letter
valuable it will be. **H.F.M.**
Last week's sales. Home edition 9,500.
Express 950.



grown to such an extent that mightier weapons had to be invented; that being useless still, we now menace the whole human world, animal and plant life by the use of H-bombs—self-destruction.

...valuable it will be.
...last week's sales. Home edition 9,500.
...express 950.

Around and about by

Popular broadcaster on the BBC's "Woman's Hour" programme and a member of the Peace Pledge Union Executive Committee.

MINNIE PALLISTER

ASKED myself when I began these notes—How is it that the Peace Pledge Union does not attract more members?

The events of the last few weeks give one answer.

The terrible disaster to the plane bringing servicemen home on leave or demobilisation, which brought death to fifty, coincided with the excitement over the vote in the House on the abolition of the Death Penalty.

There are many of our people, of course, among the thousands who rejoiced at the vote, many who have worked for it, and who have thought of it as part of their pacifist faith, but there must be many, many men and women, who have felt strongly on the matter of Capital Punishment who would not call themselves pacifists, even though they base their objections to it on the grounds of the sanctity of human life. (Not all, of course; an equally valid argument to many is the possibility of a legal mistake, since evidence must naturally often be circumstantial.)

Side by side with the jubilation about saving one or two convicted murderers from death, came this announcement of death on a large scale, which was just a matter of news.

It was a pity, of course, that fifty homes would have their happiness shattered, but it was just one of those things.

It seems to me that one thing we have to break down is this idea that just as if you're killed on a Zebra crossing it doesn't count, so anything which happens in war or in preparation for war, doesn't count: it's different.

Accidents happen in civilian life, but deaths in "trouble spots," deaths due to the constant moving of conscripts all over the world, are deaths due to war. Why do we feel less shocked than we do at a hanging?

It's a very long time since we used to recite at Peace meetings "War is Murder, there you have it plain and flat."

Since man has been slaughtering man ever since the world began it may be we expect too much in too short a time. But sooner or later we have to get it into the minds of the man in the street that killing is just as much murder whatever the motive or excuse.

★

February has been a month of memories, the fiftieth anniversary of the Labour Party, the thirty-eighth year of the franchise for women.

Going to Southampton, where I was when the First World War broke out, brought back old days to me.

Tempted to despair as we are, when I remembered that in 1914 it was the basest treachery even to admit that an alien nation could have any sort of right on its side, it was cheering to reflect that I had been to speak on the "Status of Women" for the United Nations Association; that we

now render lip service to the idea of a welfare state not for ourselves alone, but for the whole world; that we now feel responsibility for women of all races and colours wherever they live, and are sensitive to the needs of peoples everywhere.

When we read of the base injustices once handed out to women just because they were women, and of the hatred and suspicion which fell on those who first put forward woman's claim to be a person in her own right, we need not despair of putting over our pacifist case.

★

Meeting for the first time for many years too. Clifford Allen's wife, brought to mind my first contact with the idea of individual refusal to fight. It was in the old Independent Labour Party rooms in Newport, Mon., that I chaired for Clifford Allen, and heard the case for conscientious objection.

It all seems like a dream now: my friends in prison; the vast peace meetings in Wales when we would collect thirty or forty pounds for the fund for their families; the valiant little band headed by Ramsay MacDonald in the House, constantly fighting for the right of men to have a conscience about war; the peace conferences broken up by hooligans; the times when we had to be rescued from the mob; the making Germany pay; the bitter disillusion; the brilliance of our own leaders, the Morels, the Wallheads, the Brailsfords, who foretold with devastating accuracy the result of a peace of revenge and reprisal; the fight for the revision of the Peace Treaty, and always the exhilaration of being in a small minority fighting with our backs to the wall, hated by the public, ostracised by family and friends, but with a burning conviction that we were right.

Have we kept anything out of this struggle? Was it worth while?

It's always worth while to be on the side of the angels. It may be all we got out of those strenuous years, but it's enough.

WE DIDN'T SAY IT!

Small boy at a cinema in Palmers Green, London, watching "The Lawless Street," a "Western": "That's right. Be a coward and use a gun, Mister."

Five in every 10 Italians called up for service in Sardinia (pop. 1,164,000) cannot read or write. So they are being taught to use the pen as well as the rifle.—Daily Express, February 20th, 1956.

Letters to the Editor

Words into deeds

EACH of the two power blocs professes sympathy for under-developed countries. Each spends large sums on military preparedness, which, in effect, means that there is little left for aiding the needy.

Supposing that either bloc said to the other: "I propose to slice my military estimates, as stated in my budget, by 10 per cent in 1957-8, if you will do likewise. The money thus saved to be used for relief and development by a joint commission composed of, say, representatives of India and Switzerland."

If the offer were refused, the party making the refusal would cut a poor figure in the eyes of the world. For this very reason, there might be acceptance.

The above is doubtless an over simplification, but I suggest that something of the sort should not be impossible.

TOM SULLIVAN.

31 Knockbreda Park, Belfast.

Letters to American Press

I CAN confirm what Rhoda Clarke (December 23) says on writing "peaceful" letters to newspapers overseas, and especially in the United States. I wish many more peace-lovers would do this, for it is a first-class way of speaking our minds direct to the American man-(and woman)-in-the-street, and thus helping to increase understanding. I should be interested to hear of other readers who have been successful, and if anyone wants to try their hand I can supply a list of the main newspapers.

When the Dulles "brink of war" article was published I was lying in hospital, but I thought I must try to do something constructive to express my feelings. So I got five 6d. air-letters and wrote as follows. The letter was published within 10 days in the Chicago Daily News and the Christian Science Monitor, and a shortened version in the New York Times.

"As kids we used to play 'last across the road'—seeing which of the gang could run over in front of a truck at the last possible moment. When Mr. Dulles boasts of his 'ability to get to the brink of war' he sounds like a kid not a statesman; by playing 'last across' with atomic weapons instead of trucks he's gambling with your lives and ours. We are often reminded that in an atomic war there can be no victors; this especially applies to a small country like Britain, but I guess things wouldn't be so healthy for you either.

"Many of us are coming to the conclusion that an 'alliance' where the President and Mr. Dulles take the 'ultimate decisions' is a luxury we can no longer afford. I am not prejudiced against the United States. I have many American friends and it has been my lifelong ambition to visit your country. I know you all want peace, apart from a few crack-brains. But somehow we've got to learn to live in the world together—Americans, British, Russians, Chinese and all the rest, with the help of the United Nations—and we wonder

if this lesson is sinking in as quickly in Washington as it is in other capitals."

I'm so glad Rhoda Clarke mentioned Albert Bofman. He's a real one-man peace movement, whose life is devoted to disseminating information and encouraging others to work for peace by many ingenious methods of "peace promotion." In his latest letter he writes: "Please send all releases and free materials from peace organisations and local peace groups of all types. If you can get a complete selection of earlier materials, please send same also." This is much too big a job for me to undertake, so will all readers who can help please send their material direct to A. Bofman, 6327 S May St., Chicago 21, Illinois, USA?

CHRISTOPHER MEREDITH.

40 Elm Park, Stanmore, Middlesex.

New Guinea

IN Peace News of February 10 Roy Sherwood wrote on Western New Guinea. He knows something of the story, but not enough.

The chief point, which he ignores, is that the USA and Australia do not want New Guinea (which means New Guinea coast) in the hands of a non-NATO power. That is the decisive point.

Look at World War II and the role of New Guinea in that war, and you will easily understand why the NATO Empires act as they do.

HEIN J. H. VAN WIJK.

Haarlem, Holland.

The block vote

I AM pleased to read that Florence Picton has accepted the idea up to now that the resolutions at the Labour Party conference were in keeping with the old socialist and anti-militarist tradition of the Party, and has shown how the work of the Labour Peace Fellowship and the pacifists in the local parties has borne fruit.

At the same time, she is most concerned, and quite rightly so, about the domination of the Trade Unions.

The main difficulty is to get pacifists to be active in their unions, and whilst the LPF has endeavoured to put its case across to the trade unions, it depends in the last resort on the work that it does behind the scenes in the local branches.

If pacifists want to change the unions—they should join them, work inside them, accept office when nominated, and in this way have some influence on this great movement.

DENIS BRIAN.

24a Breakspears Rd., S.E.4.

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

DIARY

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.
2. Include: Date, Town, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)

Friday, March 2

LONDON, W.1: 8 p.m.: 6 Bond Street, "The Labour Party and Pacifism." Discussion led by Mr. Clarke. Admission free. Questions. All welcome. PPU.

LIVERPOOL: 7.30 p.m.: Central Hall. "Capital Punishment." Public Meeting. Mr. Graham O.C., Leslie Hale, M.P., Rt. Hon. Graham White, and a specialist in forensic psychiatry. NCACP.

Saturday, March 3 to Sunday, March 11

LONDON, W.1: to **WORMWOOD** 3 p.m.: Oxford Street, March to Wormwood Scrubs. All COs and sympathisers welcome. Four-hour shifts outside the prison. Picketing campaign from the prison to Speaker's Corner, Hyde St., where at 2 p.m. a public meeting will be held. Details, Ian Dixon, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1. PYAG.

Saturday, March 3

LEEDS: 3 p.m.: Swarthmore Educational Association, Woodhouse Sq., Annual Gen. Mtg. PPU.

LEEDS: 3 p.m.: YWCA Hall, Cookridge. Conference on Disarmament. Eric Hoffer, A. Wallis. Tickets, H. H. Mohun, 80 Stablesbury Ave., Leeds 8.

Sunday, March 4

LONDON, W.1: 3.30 p.m.: King's Weigh House Church, Binney St. (Nr. Bond St. Str.) Joint Universalist Service. Discourse by Prof. Ferraby "Baha'is and the Most Great Peace." PPU Religious Commission.

Tuesday, March 6

DUBLIN: 8 p.m.: Lecture Room, 6 Eustace St. Public Mtg. "Peace-making in Europe." Mr. Victor Mayr. Irish Pacifist Movement. Meally, 98 Trees Rd., Mount Dublin.

MANCHESTER: 7.30 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Mount St. Gp Mtg. PPU.

MIDSWELL, HILLS: 8 p.m.: 15 Lynmouth Rd. N.Z. Allen Skinner, "The Third Way."

Wednesday, March 7

PARSONAGE: 7.30 p.m.: Friends Mtg. 30 Oxford St. "Children of Hiroshima." Cert. "X." Harrogate Peace Gp.

LEEDS: 7 p.m.: 78a Norman Rd., St. James. Vernon Symonds. Chairman, Philip Wood. PPU.

LEIGH-ON-SEA: 8 p.m.: Friends Mtg. 20 Dundonald Drive. "Peace-making in the Atomic Age." Stuart Morris, PPU.

Thursday, March 8

MANCHESTER: 7.30 p.m.: Parris Wood Rd. Congregational Church, Didsbury. "Children of Hiroshima." Cert. "X." Tickets from Mr. B. Harrison, 21 Deneford Rd., Didsbury, Manchester 20.

Saturday, March 10

LEWESWORTH (Middx): 3.5 p.m. and 5.30 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Busch Corner, Leamington Spa. Conference to consider "The Peace of Conscience on the Life of the Nation." SOF, Hounslow Peace Movt.

Sunday, March 11

AGM and film show. Surrey Area PPU.

Monday, March 12

BURY: 7.30 p.m.: Methodist Church, Walmersley Rd., Children of Hiroshima. Cert. "X" film. Admission free. For.

SOUTHAMPTON: 7.30 p.m.: Temperance Institute, Carlton Cres. "The Work of the WRI." Roger Rawlinson. PPU.

Tuesday, March 13

WOODFORD GREEN (Essex): 8 p.m.: Sir James Hawkey Hall. Public Mtg. "Scientists, The H-bomb and You!" Canon T. B. Scrutton, D. Stark Murray, B.Sc., M.B., Ch.B., John Maynard Smith, M.A., B.Sc. For.

Wednesday, March 14

BELFAST: 8 p.m.: Friends Inst. Frederick St., "Pick and Shovel Peace-maker—Pierre Ceresole." Rev. Dr. H. J. McLachlan, For.

Thursday, March 15

LEEDS: 7.30 p.m.: Carlton Hill Mtg. Ho., Woodhouse Lane. "The Colonies, our problem." John Rex, Sec. West Riding Council for African Affairs. Leeds Joint Action for Peace.

Saturday, March 17

LONDON, W.C.1: 3 p.m. Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. "Some problems of the pacifist teacher." Marjorie Mitchell, M.Sc. All welcome. Notify if possible. John Burgess, 9 West St., Hertford, Herts. Education Commission, PPU.

SOUTHAMPTON:

6.45 p.m.: Temperance Institute, Carlton Place, CO Reunion. Guest Speaker, Stuart Morris. Tickets, 65 Upton Crescent, Southampton.

Monday, March 19

LLANELLY: 8 p.m.: Presbyterian Church vestry, Steppay St. "Abolishing Racial Discrimination." Howard Davies. For.

Wednesday, March 21

LONDON, S.W.1: 6.30 p.m.: Caxton Hall, Westminster. AGM No Conscience Council. Business meeting (for members) followed at 8 p.m. by Brains Trust (for public) with Frank Owen, Donald Soper, and others. Further details, No Conscience Council, Crestfield St., W.C.1.

Saturday, March 24

EPSOM: 4.30 p.m.: Myers Hall (behind Ebbisham Hall), Ashley Rd. Refreshments and Peace Bookstall. 7 p.m.: Children of Hiroshima. Ailsa Duncan, 55 Culverhay, Ashford, Surrey (Ashford 4016) Epsom and District Peace Fellowship.

Tuesday, March 27

BIRMINGHAM: 8.45 p.m.: The Vicarage Room, Aston. "Children of Hiroshima." Cert. "X" film. PPU.

Wednesday, March 28

SUTTON COLDFIELD: 7.30 p.m.: Central Library, Newhall St. entrance. "Children of Hiroshima." Cert. "X" film. For.

Thursday, March 29

BIRMINGHAM: 1: 7.30 p.m.: Midland Institute (cinema), Paradise St. "Children of Hiroshima." Cert. "X" film. PPU.

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 1s. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Maximum length 60 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

LATEST TIME for copy: Monday morning before publication. Whilst the policy of Peace News is not to restrict any concern or individual from advertising in these columns, it must be noted that we do not necessarily share the views nor the opinions of all our advertisers.

MEETINGS

PEACE AND THE PROFESSIONS: Mar. 15; Symposium "Music and Social Life." Aisp. J. Council Arts and Sciences for Peace. **SCIENCE FOR PEACE** Public Conf. The Atomic Age—Perspectives and Problems. Speakers: D. G. Armit, J. D. Bernal, FR.S.; J. B. S. Haldane, FR.S. 2 p.m. Saturday, March 10 at Holborn Assembly Hall, John's News, W.C.1. Details from 72 Donerale St., S.W.6.

ACCOMMODATION

HOMELY ACCOMMODATION and jolly good food to visitors and permanent guests. CANONBURY 1340, Telke Shayler, 27 Hamilton Pk., N.5.

ACCOMMODATION WANTED. London. Pacifist family (two children) need London accommodation now. Unf. or furn. Please help. Box 692.

FOR SALE AND WANTED

EXTENSION LADDERS. Reduced winter prices. S.A.B. Roberts, 12 Clare Rd., Cardiff. **N. DEVON.** Smallholding for sale. 16 acres, freehold. Good out-buildings, two dwellings. Genuine. £800. Hutchins, Heddonsgate, Parracombe, N. Devon. Tel.: Parracombe 313.

HOLIDAYS

BERKSHIRE: CHARNLEY MANOR, Charnley Bassett, near Wantage. Quaker Guest House. Ideal for small conferences or restful holidays. Good cycling country. Hard tennis courts. Summer 7 guineas. Brochure.

Every week!

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS **LONDON:** Weekend Workshops, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVSP, 19 Pembroke Villas, W.11.

SUNDAYS

HYDE PARK: 3 p.m.: Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.: Deansgate Bldg Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPP.

THURSDAYS

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Road. E.10 and E.11 Group PPU. **LONDON, W.C.1:** 1.15-1.45 p.m.: Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.: Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

BOURNEMOUTH (Boscombe). Small Guest House near sea. H & C all rooms. Personal supervision. Vegetarian and ordinary diet. North Bailey. Court Green, 18 Glen Rd. Tel.: 33621.

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Wasted millions on defence

new air fields and warning systems, and the better equipped, more mobile and self-sufficient divisions which their new strategy requires, defence budgets would have to be almost doubled.

The new strategy which the NATO Generals advise would cost £3,000,000,000 annually. No Chancellor dares ask for £3,000,000,000. The £1,500,000,000 is for a military strategy already obsolete.

The £1,500,000,000 rearmament budget was begun by the Labour Government in 1951 as a three-year programme. By 1954 we were to negotiate from strength.

But 1954 has gone and now we are being asked to find this huge sum every year.

NATO at a standstill

We have now spent nearly £6,000,000,000. In a leading article the Manchester Guardian has told us:

"The effort to build up another form of defence, through General Gruenther's command has come to a standstill. For financial and other reasons he is not receiving the promised air and land contingents and his forces today could not fight more than a minor action."

Other countries in Europe are not prepared to have two years' conscription for NATO. The Manchester Guardian now thinks we might well abandon NATO.

Costs must go up

The latest Defence White Paper says:

"The cost of the new weapons is increasing and will go on increasing. This means that any long-term defence programme based on the present level would show a steadily and deeply rising curve of national expenditure. So that the Government has been forced to reduce the manpower in the forces to about 700,000 by March 1958."

When the original rearmament programme was introduced we were told because of Russia's 150 divisions and we needed more soldiers. After five years, suddenly far from having caught up with the Russians we have been compelled to reduce the number of men in the armed forces because of the cost.

What then are we getting for our money?

Certainly not more security, for the Russians have the hydrogen bomb, and Marshal Zhukov is talking of being able to deliver it not only to Britain—this is now taken for granted—but to America also.

And yet our Defence Estimates include £346,000,000 for a Navy which nobody believes can protect us against H-bombs.

The Defence White Paper tells us:

"If global war were to break out it would be a struggle for survival of the grimmest kind. Its course would be unpredictable after the initial intense phase."

So we are spending £1,500,000,000 a year on preparing for the unpredictable although an enormous part of the money is being spent on the assumption that we will be fighting a war like the last.

Marshal Zhukov explains too

Some of the passages in the Defence White Paper are uncannily like passages from Marshal Zhukov's speech.

The Defence White Paper says:

"The objective of the Western Powers is defensive."

Marshal Zhukov says:

"The Soviet Union does not threaten anyone and is not going to attack again."

The Defence White Paper says:

"They, the Western Powers, will never be aggressors but they must have, and be known to have, the power of instant and overwhelming retaliation if attacked. It is the retaliating power which is the vital factor."

Marshal Zhukov assures the Russian people: "In view of the fact that no agreement has been reached on the reduction of the armed forces and the prohibition of atomic weapons and that, for the time being, there are no reliable guarantees of lasting peace, we must have such armed forces as would be able to defend the interests of our homeland so that no provocation by our enemies could take us unawares."

Neither side is going to attack, yet both sides are spending enormous sums on armed forces to deter the other fellow.

This is the international background of the Defence debates in Parliament.

Calling the bomb bluff

Discussing the idea that "United States military strategy might be based on the use of atomic weapons on the battlefields and fronts," Marshal Zhukov threatened "counterblows" against the industrial centres of the United States. . . . There is good reason to think that the Zhukov version of "massive retaliation" is as much founded on bluff as was the Dulles version, simply because Russia has as much reason to fear nuclear world war as has the United States.

—The Observer, February 26, 1956.

NO doubt the Commentator in The Observer last Sunday suffered a slight slip of his pen when he admitted, at least by implication that the "massive retaliation" threat was nothing but a piece of bluff; that in fact, Mr. Dulles, who is after all America's Secretary of State, had no expectation that the United States Government would use nuclear weapons as such, but use them only as a threat.

But it is not only Mr. Dulles who indulges in this kind of bluff; British Foreign policy is also based on the belief that the H-bomb is so terrible in its consequences that no

nation will dare to use it, and therefore it will deter any nation from making war upon another.

In the game of poker, bluff depends upon keeping so straight a face that no other player can possibly guess from its expression whether the drawn card makes up the perfect hand which must win the game, or one that is not use at all as a winner. In fact it is an important part of the game to try to deceive opponents into believing they have no chance and consequently throwing in their hands.

The dictionary definition of bluff: "to frighten or deceive by a show of confidence" splendidly describes this tactic, and to call a player's bluff is both risky and exciting.

Unfortunately in the international game of "cold war" it means so much more than risking a handful of counters; it is a gamble not in pounds, shillings and pence, but in human lives; it is a risk that may involve the total destruction of the human race.

Yet it goes on; no one will withdraw from the game, no one will throw in their hands. And those who have convinced themselves that it is only "wicked warmongers" like Mr. Dulles who are indulging in this frightening game of bluffing up to the very brink and then withdrawing from the abyss just in time, are self-deceived.

It is not only Mr. Dulles; the British Government has stated quite categorically its belief in nuclear weapons as a deterrent, and plainly this will not deter unless there is the ultimate intention to use them.

Until recently it had been tacitly understood that they would not be used except in a major war, but the newly published Defence White Paper states that "In limited wars the possible use of nuclear weapons cannot be excluded."

And now Marshal Zhukov, at the Party Congress in Moscow, says: "It is absurd to believe that in any future war nuclear weapons can be confined to front line tactical use."

If what the British and Russian Governments are now saying is true then even in so-called minor wars widespread destruction to both allies and enemies, civilian populations and countryside becomes inevitable.

The possession of nuclear weapons is no longer a winning card; for a short time only while the Western Powers held the superiority could they flatter themselves they were in a safe position, but a child could have told these elderly statesmen that the position could never be safe, since Russia's main objectives would be to catch up.

The bluff has been confessed without waiting to be called. We know now that the much vaunted "deterrent" will not deter governments, if at any given moment they should think it expedient, from using the means which may result in the total destruction of life on this earth.

Nothing in life, nor in death, is static, and we have moved from bluff to open threats. There is nothing that could justify the hideous risks of this sinister game; it is more than time that some one nation had the moral courage to put down their cards and declare to the world they will play no more.

Only then will the other players realise the game is over, and the serious business of saving the peace have a chance to begin.

PPU and CD

★ FROM PAGE ONE

of even one ten-megaton bomb and of the impossibility of providing any defence or any adequate protection or even assistance, we would urge on the Government, as those responsible for the safety of the citizens of this country, the need of recognising that it is their duty to remove so far as possible any risk of an H-bomb attack, and in particular the incentive to any other government to attack Britain. In our belief this can only be achieved by the reversal of the decision to manufacture and, if necessary, use the H-bomb as a first step towards unilateral disarmament. Only such a policy can rightly be designated Civil Defence.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

In Erewon Today: VII will appear next week.

HANGING: The victory—and the aftermath

THE people's message to 628 puzzled MPs ran the sixteen inches of headline in the Daily Sketch on February 16 the day of the actual voting on hanging.

The message? "Hanging must stay, say 77 per cent."

What Herbert Gunn, editor of the Daily Sketch, forgot to point out is that the 77 per cent represented that percentage of the unknown number of Daily Sketch readers who voted. They had one single day in which to vote. And the total net sale of the paper is just over a million.

So much for percentages. The Daily Mirror—with five times the sale of the Sketch—found the majority of its readers who replied to a similar poll were in favour of abolition. 40,000 voted—over 20,000 in favour of abolition.

Interpretation immediately entered the editorial columns. The Star summed-up with "Their (the abolitionists) victory was complete, even beyond their highest hopes." The Daily Sketch prophesied a harvest of blood as a result of abolition and claimed the result "an contrary to the will of the people." Their Friday editorial made it clear that "violent propaganda of idealists" would be remembered the very next time a murder makes the front page.

A great stir was caused by the warning of imminent arming of the police. The newspapers who were against abolition used this as a scare, ignoring the fact that police are, in fact, armed fully when they go out to capture a homicidal gunman.

The Home Secretary's speech was "one of his best" (The Times), "badly presented, involved, indeterminate" (Daily Sketch).

The Observer, as expected, gave much greater play to the news. Arthur Koestler, currently having a series of extracts from his book "Reflections on Hanging" published in this newspaper, interrupted himself to write a searching postscript to the debate. Of Mr. Reid's speech, describing the hanging scene, he said "sober, haunting, terrifying."

Not so the lusty John Gordon of the Sunday

Fleet-street reacted to the capital punishment vote with polls, percentages and policy-lines as usual. Paul Gold sums up

Express: "softheart . . . sloshy . . . sentimentality . . . pappy-heart. . . ." A remarkable collection of meaninglessly vulgar epithet to throw at a man who spoke with obvious sincerity and cause. Worse was to end Mr. Gordon's remarks.

Bloodthirstily his last sentence ran: "One brutal murder may make quite a difference."

He was answered quickly. The Daily Express for Monday ran a headline atop seven columns: "MURDER ON THE THIRD DAY." The accompanying photograph showed the scene of the crime and, conveniently in the foreground, a poster saying "Should They Hang?" Express opinion was certainly that they should. Throughout the story the murderer was referred to as the man-who-cannot-hang.

Beaten by the vote, the newspapers favouring retention have rapidly started listing innumerable exceptions. Treason, prison murders, service crimes, murderers who strike twice, "hostage" murders. Anything, in fact, to keep the gallows in working-order so that the heat of the abolitionist campaign

can be mellowed by compromise.

Suddenly the Sketch discovered the merits, public spiritedness and rational legislative thinking of—the House of Lords! Repeating its "fact" that the Commons "do not represent the people" (on this issue) the Sketch editorialised: "It would be a grave thing for the Lords to reject an abolition Bill sent up by the Commons. But it would also be a democratic thing to do. It would show that the Lords not for the first time, were more alive to the feelings of the ordinary man and woman than the elected misrepresentatives in the Commons."

Both the Express and the Sketch came out openly with their new twist to the campaign: DELAY.

"Delay" said the Sketch "is vitally important . . . delay which allowed public opinion to assert itself."

All consequences of abolishing capital punishment must be considered, echoed the Express, "and a statement is likely to be delayed." Even an anonymously-signed letter gained prominence in the Express—"the public do want the retention of the hanging deterrent."

But perhaps the "largest daily on earth" Daily Mirror was the final arbiter of public opinion: by midweek not a word about the affair managed to pass muster for the front page. Hanging—pro and con—was squeezed into a few inches on inside pages.

DEMANDS OF DEFENCE AND POWER

● FROM PAGE FOUR

An Indian usually thinks of himself first as a Malayali, Punjabi, or an Assami, and only secondly as an Indian. In spite of these differences India remains a cultural unit.

This state of affairs pleases decentralists and exponents of the enrichment of regional cultures, such as Gandhi and Vinoba Bhave, as long as the emphasis is not on selfish interests.

However, this lack of national unity is uncomfortable to politicians interested in national defence by military means or consolidating and increasing their power.

In the long history of India one thing stands out. Seldom has any organisation, uniting large areas of India, been able to hold together long after the death of its leader.

Whether military, political or religious, most organisations in India are built around a leader. When the leader is gone the followers break up into sects, small armies or parties which sometimes quarrel and sometimes simply exist alongside each other without much contact.

Not only does the Congress Party worry about today's lack of national unity, but, aware of the nature of India's culture, Nehru's age, and the absence of a potential successor to Nehru, the Congress Party views the problem of the lack of national unity with great concern.

"Hysteria" might better describe the attitude expressed in a speech of Nehru on October 5:

"Nowhere in India under any circumstances whatever will the cry of division or separation be tolerated in the future, from whatever source it may come. . . ."

"If necessary every power of the State will be used to meet any menace that might arise, because there is no compromise in regard to basic matters."

"Whatever happens," he concluded, "from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, India is one and will remain one."

The Congress Party has accepted most of

the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission. The Congress politicians preferred to reverse their stand on this one issue rather than to lose the support of the people.

The riots and arguments today are mostly (1) over the few instances in which the Commission's report did not follow the principle of a language criterion, and (2) over border areas where more than one language is used, or (3) in areas where it is not practical to use majority rule.

IN BOMBAY

Bombay city, for example, is located near the dividing line between the Marathi and the Gujarati speaking areas, and itself is mixed, with 43.6 per cent of the population speaking Marathi, but not enough to convince the Gujarati speaking people that a Gujarati state should not include Bombay with its large revenue and other advantages.

No doubt the State Reorganisation Commission foresaw the danger of this dispute. It recommended a bilingual state including the Gujarati and part of the Marathi speaking area.

The whole of Maharashtra (the Marathi speaking area) could not be included. The state would have been too large and unwieldy. So it was recommended that part of the Marathi speaking area be a separate state.

Consequently, there was agitation for a separate all-Marathi state and for the control of Bombay city.

Similarly in some areas of the Punjab there has been a big conflict over whether Hindi or Punjabi should be the official language. Both sides argue in Urdu!

All this agitation is significantly carried out by the people despite the fact that the Congress Government had a long period in which to use its power to prevent such disturbances.

The people are so strongly in favour of language states because how the issue is

resolved makes a vast difference in the economic and social lives.

If state lines are drawn with little attention to language, most states will be multilingual. Consequently Hindi will become the official language of most states.

In non-Hindi speaking areas this would result in the continuation and growth of the ruling elite.

The ordinary villager would find his hand tied when he tried to better his position, or to prevent it from getting worse. The ruling elite would tend to lose contact with the sympathy for the people as most rulers do.

Urgent!

ALL NORTH OF ENGLAND READERS AND GROUPS

● A special leaflet for widespread distribution, announcing Stuart Morrison's March 8th broadcast on "Pacifism: The Unconditional Rejection of War," is being prepared on behalf of The Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, The Fellowship of Reconciliation, The Friends Peace Committee, and the Peace Pledge Union.

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Why we are picketing Wormwood Scrubs prison

Conscientious Objectors to military service are jailed in Wormwood Scrubs and other British prisons. They have neither killed nor stolen, yet they are treated as criminals. There is a price to pay for refusing conscription! We do not want your sympathy but we wish to explain to you why these boys are making this refusal and are in prison.

To the military peace is the absence of military conflict. To us it is the absence of violence, militarism (conscription or otherwise) and the fear of destruction.



"What are you in for?"
"I killed a man. And you?"
"refused to kill a man"

These men are gaoled

for refusing to join a military force whose purpose is to wage indiscriminate war. They believe that war is both immoral and inexpedient.

People thought :

That World War I was "the war to end wars." But our generation now lives in the shadow of oppression and nuclear destruction ;

That World War II was fought to destroy tyranny and Nazism. But in West Germany today Nazis hold Ministerial positions in the Government. Totalitarian Communism has spread itself half-way across Europe as a direct result of the war !

We were once shocked

by the introduction of bombing of civilian populations. We now justify wholesale murder of the aged, the sick and the young. We are being conditioned into accepting the brutalisation of our own natures. We condemn the cosh boy and thug but, when the state orders us, we maim, burn, kill, mutilate and destroy. At Hiroshima we obliterated 60,000 men, women and children in a most hideous fashion.

In the struggle for power between East and West both sides support the H-bomb militarism and war. In the East this involves persecution of opponents to the Russian State. In the West it involves a barbarous colonialism.

We are neither for East nor West. Our struggle is not for power but for freedom.

OUR FRIENDS IN PRISON are, in a sense, inwardly more free than most people who walk the streets today, since they have refused to compromise with what they believe to be wrong. Their refusal was a sufficient challenge to the Government that it had to imprison them or see its machinery of conscription weakened. Still the Government has weakened itself by demonstrating that there are men whose belief in peace and human freedom is so strong that even a mighty State cannot force them to act contrary to their convictions.

WAR AND TYRANNY

SOME want conscription abolished so that men can kill on a voluntary basis.* The Communists want to cut this compulsory training to kill to twelve months. To them this is just a stratagem in the struggle for power. In Russia there is no campaign to reduce the period of service.

We hold that there is a close relationship between war and tyranny, that one produces the other, and that you cannot use either to remove the other.

But there are other more effective and morally right methods to achieve our common goal.

This is the way of non-violence. Non-violent philosophy and way of life has been taught by the great religious and moral leaders and teachers for centuries. Within recent times, Gandhi led India to achieve her political freedom against colonial oppression with non-violent resistance.

We recall as instances of the use of one type or another of non-violence the sufferings of 17th century Quakers in England, Hungarian resistance to Austrian rule in 1848, the East German revolt in June, 1953, the Vorkuta strike in 1953 of 300,000 political prisoners in the Soviet Union, the African struggle against the colour bar in 1952-3.

We express our solidarity with not only those who reject war in Britain but also with others throughout the world who are imprisoned because of their belief in peace and freedom—in France, the Soviet Union, the United States, Italy, and other places.

YOU ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR WHAT IS DONE IN YOUR NAME

The German man-in-the-street was blamed for failing to protest against Hitler's Concentration Camps and Gas Chambers.

If you fail to protest against the policy of indiscriminate war and the turning of Britain into an H-bomb base you, too, are responsible.

The risks you face in making your protest are nothing to what anti-Nazism entailed.

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This leaflet is published by

The Pacifist Youth Action Group

Youth section of the Peace Pledge Union, founded by Canon "Dick" Sheppard. PYAG members refuse to support war or preparation for war and believe that tyranny and injustice must be resisted by non-violent resistance.

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Pacifist Youth Action Group Magazine, obtainable from 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

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From the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors which exists to give advice to those who object to military service on grounds of conscience, or from one of its 360 local advisers. Address your enquiry in the first instance to : 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

For more information:

If you wish to know more about PYAG please write to 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

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